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K Pitt (Right Hon Mr)
A
L E T T E R

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

WILLIAM PITT,

FROM

A PRESBYTERIAN

OF THE KIRK OF SCOTLAND.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A SHORT EPISTLE

T O

WM. PULTENEY, Esq;

ON HIS PAMPHLET, ENTITLED,

"EFFECTS TO BE EXPECTED FROM
" THE EAST INDIA BILL UPON
" THE CONSTITUTION."

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. DEBRETT, (Successor to Mr. ALMON)

opposite BURLINGTON HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

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A PRUSSIAN

OF THE



A S M O N I S T L E

TO

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OF THE

OF THE

L O N D O N

Printed by J. DODD, at the British Museum.

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to yourself. Not a shadow of reason
for this neglect can I furnish.

L E T T E R

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE,

WILLIAM PITT.

RIGHT HONORABLE SIR,

AMONG the various addressees
that have hallowed the spirited
dismissal of the late incapable mi-
nistry, and your consequent elevation,
it is matter of surprize to many that
none have been presented personally

B

to

to yourself. Not a shadow of reason for this neglect can I surmise.

THE inexperience and incapacity of your predecessors might have furnished many a happy contrast with your own political profundity and public services, while the modesty of your deportment, and the purity of your connections, might have wound up many a well-turned period. Materials then could not be wanting ; I am astonished inclination should.

THERE is not a true child of the Kirk but is your friend. The societies of Glasgow should at least have saved the

the credit of their countrymen, and have addressed the true and genuine successor of their tutelary peer in the confidence of their sovereign.

MOST sincerely, Sir, do I lament their want of urbanity as well as gratitude, and am sorry it is left for so humble an individual to publish the sentiments of a nation.

ASSURED however that I am not mistaken in my opinion, I will venture even to invite that censure, which your known modesty and characteristic diffidence will certainly impute to a professed panegyrist.

I HAVE, Sir, the merit of being born on the north side of the Tweed, and may be supposed to know the sentiments of my countrymen.

HALCYON days, Sir, we already enjoy by anticipation, under the influence of your auspicious administration; and, if I may judge from the correspondence of our brethren, the Presbyterians of England, the joy is general.

FOR the consistency of our principles, Sir, we need but look back to those days when we basked under the immediate benignity of royal smiles.

Other

Other nations might dispute with us the superiority of democratic turbulence and calvinistical confusion in church government ; but, I boast it with an honest pride, we stand unrivalled as the humblest of slaves to the despotism of the worst of monarchs.

WE, Sir, then, the inhabitants of this chosen corner of the land, are your firm friends from principle ; the Presbyterians of England are your friends from policy.

THERE are, I cannot deny it, some who doubt your capacity to govern, and your resignation to be governed ;
and,

and, from such ill-grounded apprehensions, prognosticate a political downfall as sudden as *they say* was your ministerial elevation : but I, Sir, foresee a far different event. I know the happy perseverance of the master who employs you ; I know the laudable attachment to dominion which actuates yourself ; I know, Sir, the constitutional object of the few who pushed you into office ; and all men know the amiable necessities, as well as the venial vices of your colleagues, which nothing less than the emoluments of office and the custody of the public purse can supply the means of gratifying.

It was the mistaken policy of the
last

last reign, to delegate such powers of the crown to the minister of the day as might be exercised by him without derogation from the dignity of the monarch, and with advantage to the subject. I say it was mistaken, for it surely is an impeachment on the good sense of the sovereign of a free country to be pleased with being popular, and on that of his minister to be suspected of a fantastic veneration for a constitution, which has nothing better to recommend it than its being the parent of liberty. Obedience should be the effect of compulsion, not of inclination, to gratify the feelings of royalty. Subjects were made for the pleasure
of

of kings, not kings for the happiness of their people.

THE house of Pelham were driven from power and popularity to make way for a man, the tenure of whose office should be the inveterate hatred of the subject, and his security the sole pleasure of the master he served.

THE system was then formed which has ever since been invariably pursued ; pursued with such undisguised vehemence, that the very man who advised it, has been obliged to skulk from its support ; not because he less approves the cause, but because it is avowed
with

with so little disguise, that he is afraid of suffering as its author; conscious that the good people of England do not always discover what is really for their interest.


IN pursuance of this system it was, that a noble Lord, now in opposition, was suffered to remain so long at the head of affairs. His heart, however, failing him at last; or, as some say, having some qualms of conscience about the number of Americans who had dared to claim the rights of British subjects, and had deservedly bled in the cause of rebellion, majorities deserted him, and he was

left to enjoy the pleasures of penitence in retirement. The next administration was formed for the sole purpose of introducing into it the E. of S——. We all know the sequel. The pusillanimous Peer, who preferred the liberty of the subject to the inclination of his master, was snatched away at a lucky moment to make way for the elevation of his more accommodating coadjutor. Never was a man formed by nature for a minister of this country, if he was not. Monarchical in his politics; Presbyterian in his religion. Unacquainted with those rules of morality that confine the exertions of an enterprising statesman, unrestrained
by

by the flimsy obligation of political attachment, and unembarrassed by any superiority of talents, which only confound, while they multiply, the objects of attention. Under such a minister we expected happy days. He had all the advantages, without the odium of being born on this side Tweed.

Is it not strange that factious Demagogue, whose name I cannot mention without indignation, could not be contented with ease, affluence, and liberty himself, but he must also extend these gentlemanly privileges to the unworthy vulgar? Such however was his mistaken enthusiasm, and our

favourite Peer fell in the popular convulsion stirred up by his mere *gift of the gab*.

 HAIL! thrice hail, the happy day! when this man of the people was dismissed from power, with that candour, liberality, and spirit, which the insulted rights of majesty might well suggest. I should stand excused, Sir, I trust, if, in expressing my feelings on this occasion, I exceeded those bounds of decorum, which should generally limit the observations of a political address. The two great, and detestible, objects of this Gentleman's wishes were, as is well known, to give security

security to the lives and properties of the
 barbarous and rich inhabitants of India,
 and to repeal the marriage act. Now,
 Sir, could any thing be more cruel to
 the natives of this happy land ? Of all
 those true patriots, whose honest ambi-
 tion and successful industry have given
 them the name of Nabobs, six out of
 every ten are my own countrymen.
 The consequences of the marriage act
 are too well known to need an obser-
 vation : the few, that are ignorant of
 the advantages arising to Scotland from
 it, may be informed at Gretna Green ;
 where its influence has transformed
 the blacksmith's forge into an altar of
 Hymen. Your elevation to power
 alone

alone prevented the tears of the Kirk from bedewing the foot of the throne. From you, Sir, we have every reason to expect the accomplishment of those events, which the spirit and connections of your great example, the E. of S——, promised. The tear of joy trickles down my cheek while I contemplate the early virtues that seem already budding in yourself, and the well earned laurels which adorn the brows of your maturer colleagues. We may now expect the revival of that system which had for some time yielded to the stern virtues of Mr. F——.

YOUR own merits are certainly the
 firmest

firmest basis on which to build your fame ; and you may fairly cry out with the Poet :

Non genus & proavos & quæ non fecimus ipsi, &c.

It is no unfavourable omen, however, that you are descended from that minister, who was brought into administration to head a Tory interest, which the then favourite was erecting to overturn that edifice, the family of Pelham and the Whigs had long been building, as a sanctuary for their favourite, fantastic, Deity, the Goddess Liberty : of that minister, who accepted a Peerage as the price of the people's confidence and his own fidelity : of
that

that minister, who was the undisguised advocate for giving to the King's proclamation the force of law. These, Sir, I say, are circumstances, from which we may presage the happiest consequences to the aggrandizement of that prerogative, which has never yet been sufficient for the ease of our Monarchs, or the reasonable subjugation of their people, when we reflect that the son of that very minister is now in the first office in administration ; a son too, who has imbibed all the *honest* prejudices of his fire

It may indeed be objected that when age and infirmity had broken his

his resolution (or, as some would say, when experience had matured his talents) he endeavoured to overturn that secret influence, which had before, in a refractory moment, overturned him. Accursed be the memory of the man, who could ignominiously prefer being the minister of the people to being the slave of a sovereign. Patriots may plant laurels on his grave, but the thistle, the most honorable of flowers, shall disdain the nourishment his ashes would afford.

CONTINUE, Sir, to act as you have begun, and your object will be soon attained. Conscious of your own in-

D

tegrity

tegrity and your master's approbation, shew that contempt for the resolutions of the Commons and the business of the nation, which an ungrateful people merit.

THE Church of England are a degenerate and base-born brood : we are the only good subjects. By the assistance of Lord T—— you may reasonably expect to get that barrier between us and power, the test, abolished. We shall then get admission into the House of Commons, and shall be fully able to prove the strength of our attachment by the vigour of our persecutions. We know we have no friends

friends among the people who are not of our own persuasion; among the proud Peers we can expect but few; we have no one to look up to then for protection but the third estate of the constitution: our own safety, therefore, will be a sufficient pledge of our fidelity to him in his most dangerous and most secret services. Seize then the happy moment, we are strong, zealous, and united. You have advantages of which delay will rob you past redemption. Your youth will screen you from the charge of deliberate conspiracy, and prevent the declamations of opposition on the beauty of the

constitution and the liberty of the subject.

WHAT, Sir, may you not expect from the assistance of your colleagues? Men collected from every *part* and every *party* of the kingdom for their wisdom, their gratitude, their consistency, their virtues, their patriotism.

WHAT may we not expect from the unimpaired fortune and independent character of the sage P— S——? Had Junius but lived till now, he would have immortalized his virtues,
as

as he did those of his father. His
 fire indeed had one foible, though an
 amiable one, from which his offspring
 is most happily exempted ! His wan-
 ton liberality provided for every one
 that bore the name of M——. So says
 Junius—The son has most wisely pre-
 vented the indulgence of any such
 inclination, by the dissipation of his own
 fortune, and the desertion of those
 connections, which might have served
 his family without the sacrifice of his
 principles. As it is, the poverty of
 his relations is a standing monument of
 the regeneration of the head of the fa-
 mily. I ought perhaps to have given
 the place of ceremony and precedence
 to

to the man who stands highest in our estimation. If gentleness of countenance and elegance of manners, if amiable condescension and diffident candour, if honorable connections and domestic virtues, if above all, noble contempt of every thing, which the superstition of the priesthood has dignified with the name of morality or religion, are in estimation, Lord T— must be dear indeed to us. From such a man, the repeal of a test, the great object of our abhorrence, will meet with no opposition.

OF the two noble secretaries I will say nothing. Mark Anthony and
Octavius

OCTAVIUS had their Lepidus, and Lord G—— and Mr. P—— have their S——y and C——n.

I KNOW not whether it makes part of *your* peculiar merits, or those of the noble P——t of the C——l, that all old animosities are buried in oblivion, and that two such eminent characters, whose whole lives have been proverbially at variance, should have produced a coalition incapable even of a momentary separation ; a coalition as wonderful as that ancient one of the Babes in the Wood, who lived and died wandering hand in hand.

Come

Come listen well ye parents dear,
 A dismal tale I'll tell,
 How G——r and P——t together stray'd,
 And how together fell.—&c.

THE M—— of the O—— needs not
 the feeble efforts of my pen to celebrate
 his virtues. His pliability of temper
 would alone be a passport to the affec-
 tions of the Kirk. One fault indeed
 he has : he has adopted the notion of
 the Church of Rome, that marriage is
 a sacrament, and adheres too churlish-
 ly to conjugal fidelity.

WHAT words, Sir, shall I find which
 can do justice to the merits of your expe-
 rienced

rienced counsellor and friend, my own countryman? If his political versability does not prove his faithful attachment to *the one great end and object*, and his instantaneous silence on the subject of a late enormous delinquency manifest his incorruptible integrity, they are beyond the power of Pulteney himself to demonstrate.

GIVE me leave, Sir, in the freedom of advice, to recommend to your attention two noble Peers who will steadily assist you in the prosecution of your glorious plan. I mean Lord V—S— and the E. of S—. No man can serve a monarch faithfully who

E

has

has not betrayed the people shamefully. The former of these will muster *your* troops with ability. He knows when to *engage* he says himself, we are all convinced he knows when to *retreat*. Enlist him under your banners, he will serve your purpose well. Of the noble E— I have some doubts. He has connected himself with your adversaries, and his incorruptible attachments may perhaps be proof against temptation. Besides he has the reputation of being too religious for the society of youth : At least, so says the immaculate Ch—ber--n of London, and produces their quondam midnight orgies as a proof. Who could have expected

expected to have seen the day when the houses of G——lle and of P---t should accept the plaid and bagpipe from the hands of D——s, and Johnny W—— become the advocate of kings, and patron of prerogative.

HAVING seen this conversion to the true Kirk, I have lived long enough : I could die contented, and congratulate my native highlands on the miraculous change.

IN the happy days of Charles I, Lord Strafford called himself the minister of the crown ; Lord Danby did the same in the pious reign of

Charles II; but I did not presume even to hope for such resolution from a minister in the degenerate days of George III.

THE streets of Paris blazed with bonfires and illuminations on your ministerial appointment; The streets of Edinburgh shall blaze when the object of that appointment is attained.

Your sincere Friend,

A PRESBYTERIAN

of the

KIRK of SCOTLAND.

A SHORT

EPISTLE

TO

WM. PULTENEY, Esq.

SIR,

NOT having the honor of your personal acquaintance, in the few following lines, which I take the liberty of addressing to you, I shall neither, from an affectation of moderation,

ration, give you more credit for the principles which you profess to actuate you in your late Treatise on the India Bill, than appear on the face of it; nor shall I censure with acrimony what is stated, at least, to be discussed with candor. I intend to pass in silence over the former part of your pamphlet, where you allow reasonable doubts even to the honestest of mankind, as well as the arguments you yourself adduce in opposition to the bill in question. I do not find that the former has gained you the credit you certainly meant to lay claim to by your attempt to appear candid, nor that the latter have made many converts.

ALL,

ALL, to which I mean to apply myself at present, is the removal of those prejudices you have raised by the misapplication of a passage from De Lolme, and to obviate such objections as you intend should be collected by inference and implication from it against the India Bill.

You say, You cannot help transcribing a short paragraph from the 19th chapter of that excellent author, and the passage you select is this:

“ If through the unforeseen operation
 “ of some new regulation, made to
 “ restrain the royal prerogative, or
 “ through some sudden public revolution,

" lution, any particular *bodies* or
 " *classes* of individuals, were ever to
 " acquire a personal independent share
 " in the exercise of the governing
 " authority, we should behold the
 " virtue and patriotism of the legisla-
 " tors and great men immediately cease
 " with its cause, and the aristocracy,
 " as it were watchful of the opportu-
 " nity, burst out at once and spread
 " itself over the kingdom."

THIS passage you apply to the
 India Bill; and the consequence you
 wish to make us dread from it, is,
 evidently, the extension of the powers
 of the aristocracy.

By

By the aristocracy, I presume you mean what Mr. De Lolme meant, the House of Peers, in contradistinction to the democracy or House of Commons. Now, Sir, let us advert to the fact and the means; in other words, let us examine whether the power of the aristocracy is with the promoters of the India Bill, and whether it is likely to encrease their authority; and also, whether that Bill would have been the *means* of erecting that sort of sovereign, independent, executive, power, your favourite author alludes to in your selected passage.

THAT the aristocracy, or House of

F

Peers

Peers, were not friends to the India Bill, I need not now assert. That they never would have been made so, by any flattering increase of authority it was to give them, I think, is as evident. If the enjoyment of places and emoluments, when actually possessed by a few, are supposed to create an undue bias, the hope of emolument, (which I believe it will be granted me always pervades a much greater number than possession can ever gratify) must create a greater: yet with all these advantages, in perspective as it were, the influence of the Crown was found to predominate over every consideration of ministerial reward, aristocratical

cratical authority, or Indian emolument. That the Bill if it had passed, was not likely to erect an independent power of *that sort*, at least, I think, must be as evident to every one, who considers the description of men that were to have controuled the affairs of India. The labour of the Commissioners would have been too great, and the salaries too small, to have induced the members of the aristocratical part of the community to engage in such a service. Where then, and upon whom, would the government of India have necessarily devolved? On persons of a democratical description to be sure;

on a certain number of men, chosen out of the bulk of the people.

A NOBLE Peer having consented to add dignity to the commission, by permitting his name to be placed at the head, affords no argument against my position, inasmuch as it adds no power or consequence to the aristocracy, as a body.

BUT perhaps, Sir, you would answer, that whether this dangerous power be given to Peers or Commoners, that still the effect would be the same ; they would have executive
government

government in their hands, independent of the Crown, and would therefore, whether Nobles or Commoners, be in fact an aristocracy. Perhaps I might be inclined to allow the position, if this power had been intended to belong to the House of Representatives, *as a body, as an integral, constituent, part of the constitution* : Then indeed these independent sovereigns would be of that description which both the meaning and the words of Mr. De Lolme hold out to us as objects of apprehension.

IN the proposed Bill for the government of India, this executive power
 was

was not to be taken from the hands of the Crown, to be placed in those of either of the other estates of the realm; but it was to be transferred from a Company, who had grossly misapplied it, to a number of individuals, selected out of the bulk of the nation, partly from the *peerage*, partly from the *representatives*, and partly from the *represented*.

THEY were not to be irremoveable; they were not to be irresponsibile; they were not to be permanent; and therefore I boldly assert they were not to be independent. Their power was, at most, a transfer from one corporation

to

to another; a delegation *from* the Crown, by an act assented to *by* the Crown; removeable by the Crown on *proper* representation of delinquency; responsible both to the Crown and Parliament.

Now, Sir, I am confident that any man who reads those few chapters of De Lolme, which you recommend, with deliberation, and considers them with candour, cannot but observe that the object against which he guards us, is, any attempt to restrain the prerogative of the Crown, not by *abolishing* any of it's powers that may appear dangerous, not by *delegating* any of it's authority

authority to be exercised under it's controul for a limited time, but by *transferring* any part of the *executive* powers of the Crown to some other *integral, legislative, constituent*, and above all, *permanent body* of the constitution: a body, not accountable to the true genuine executive power for its conduct; a body whose jurisdiction is to be without controul, it's authority irrevocable, and it's operation perpetual. If the example, by which our author illustrates his doctrine, be adverted to, it will fully prove my position. The instance he has selected is Sweden; where the Senate had usurped uncontrollably, irrevocably,

irrevocably, and permanently, some part, at least, of almost every branch of the executive power.

I CANNOT suppose these observations could have escaped the penetration of a man, whose reputation stands so high in the world as Mr. Pulteney's; the only alternative, therefore, left me, is the supposition that you have misapplied your own talents, as well as those of Mr. De Lolme, to serve the purposes of party, and to support a minister whose only merit (much as it has been puffed) is of that species which properly belongs to children and dotards, innocence of intention and inactivity of conduct.

WITH the greatest respect for your
abilities, and the sincerest wishes that
they may soon be employed in a
better cause,

I am,

SIR,

5 OCT 59

Your obedient Servant,

The AUTHOR.

